LABOUR MONTHLY

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NEDDY: THE CONFIDENCE TRICK

J. K. Dutton

★

WAGES CURB ON THE ROCKS

'Vulcan'

★

TEHERAN
MUNICH &
PEACE
TODAY

TWENTY YEARS AFTER, The Editor
HOME & THE CONSERVATIVES, W. Gallacher
TEHERAN & GERMANY, Conference Minutes

DECEMBER 1963

Two Shillings

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Notes of the Month

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

As to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming masses of the people of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

TEHERAN DECLARATION signed by Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill on December 1, 1943.

November 18, 1963

Alexandre Dumas the Elder wrote a novel *Twenty Years After*. In it he portrayed the fortunes of D'Artagnan and his Three Musketeers after the passage of twenty years. His tale combined all those elements of irony, bitterness and heroic pride which that master of the French romantic novel had at his command. This month we celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the famous Teheran Declaration of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, signed by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. The Teheran Declaration registered agreement on the plans for the final destruction of German militarism and the pledge of co-operation of the Three Powers for the maintenance of world peace. Here also there is occasion to add our sequel 'Twenty Years After'.

A Ghost as Premier

Twenty-five years ago was signed the Munich Agreement of Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and Mussolini, by which Premier Neville Chamberlain, with Home (then Lord Dunglass) as his right-hand man by his side, betrayed peace, handed over the living body of Czechoslovakia to be carved up by Hitler, and thereby opened the gates to the second world war. That second world war cost mankind six years of misery and destruction and fifty million dead. Eternal vows were taken never to allow German militarism to arise again.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production. . . .

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> It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany; but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated, will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.
>
> (CRIMEA DECLARATION signed by Winston S. Churchill for the United Kingdom, Franklin D. Roosevelt for the U.S.A., and J. V. Stalin for the U.S.S.R. on February 11, 1945.)

Today the West German Army is the strongest in Western Europe. The monopolies which built Hitler, the Thyssens, Krupps and the rest, are larger and more dominant than ever. The West European Union has just sanctioned the increase of the size of West German submarines to 1,000 tons (shades of the Anglo-Nazi Naval Agreement of 1935, which was the real starting point, long before the connivance at the Rhineland armed occupation, in smashing Versailles and rearming Hitler). And now the surviving Man of Munich is installed as Premier, with the other main survivor, who as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs defended Munich in parliament, by his side in charge of the Foreign Office. The new Premier openly proclaims his fidelity to the principles of Munich:

> I certainly agreed with Chamberlain's analysis of the problem we were faced with and with the general direction he was trying to move in.
>
> (Sir Alec Douglas-Home in the *Observer*, September 23, 1962.)

The Ghost walks again. It is time to lay this Ghost.

Let the Documents Speak

Is all this only digging up the Past? No, it is the Present. German militarism is a very present menace. On another page we print some extracts from the Minutes of the Teheran Conference summit discussions bearing on Germany. The documents are revealing and will repay study. There is indeed much more than the short extracts here given. Lest it may be objected that these are only the Minutes as recorded and published by the Soviet side (by all means let the United States and British authorities publish their Minutes; these will be of the greatest interest; the West should learn to be less secretive on information of public importance), it may be useful to recall Churchill's own account of his discussion on German rearmament at Teheran. In his memoirs of the second world war he describes how at the Teheran Conference in a conversation with Stalin he said:

> We have now learned something. Our duty is to make the world safe for at least fifty years by German disarmament and by preventing German rearmament.

Whereupon, Churchill records, Stalin reminded him that the Western

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allies had made similar pledges after the first world war and had broken them. To this characteristically merciless and inescapable reminder of the lessons of history, revealing that Stalin could not be so easily bamboozled as some of the British public, Churchill replied, according to his own account, with the confident assertion:

> We were inexperienced then. It will be different this time.
> (Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V.)

But it is not different this time. It is worse. And it was under Churchill as Premier that in 1954 the rearmament of German militarism was put through in violation of war-time pledges and treaty obligations. Nato is Munich in a new dress.

Must History Repeat Itself?

Lord D'Abernon, who as British Ambassador in Berlin after the first world war presided over the secret rearmament of German reaction in the twenties which preceded the public rearmament in the thirties, wrote in his private diary on November 20, 1920:

> The French do not appear to understand that the military danger is past and that the real danger is Communist disorder.

There spoke Munich already in 1920, complete even to the suicidal blind eye to the real military danger of the next war. In 1948, in almost identical language, Lord Douglas, who was British Commander-in-Chief in Germany after the second world war, wrote:

> The pressing danger today is not so much a revival of German militarism as the Westwards spread of Communism.

1920 and 1948. Nothing learned and everything forgotten. The second world war has passed through them and vanished from their consciousness like an unpleasant dream, not decent to be recalled in polite society. Potsdam has followed Versailles into the discard. They are back where they were. The first three Tory Premiers after the second world war, Churchill, Eden, even Macmillan, could make some claim to having expressed some criticism of Munich. Today Munich presides again over the Government Front Bench.

Testament of Nazism

Nato, the Atlantic-German Alliance, is the fulfilment of the testament of Nazism. The last order of Admiral Doenitz, Hitler's appointed successor, to the Wehrmacht on the eve of the surrender, on May 1, 1945, ran:

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> Against the British and the Americans I shall continue the struggle only so far and so long as they hinder me in carrying out the fight against Bolshevism.

Immediately before the surrender he had proclaimed in a speech intended for the Officers' Corps (reproduced in *The Times*, August 17, 1948):

> Our political line is very plain. We must go along with the Western Powers and work with them in the occupied territories in the West, for only by working with them can we have hopes of later retrieving our land from the Russians.

Equally the official Nazi organ, the *Voelkische Beobachter*, proclaimed the line in its issue of February 21, 1945:

> Sooner or later the peoples of the West will unite their forces with ours to ultimate victory.

Shrewd prevision, not only of Nato, but even of the 'Multilateral Force'. Nor was the nuclear element lacking in the final Nazi Testament. The last words of Goering before he cheated the hangman were (recorded in the *Evening Standard*, October 3, 1946):

> American leadership in the atomic field is vital to the world's existence.

If he had lived a year or two longer he would of course have said 'the free world's existence'. The line of Fulton and Nato was never original, any more than the formula the 'Iron Curtain'. The formula the 'Iron Curtain' to describe the countries of Eastern Europe freed from fascism by the Soviet armies was first used by Goebbels in February 1945; borrowed by Churchill in his Fulton speech in 1946 without acknowledgement to its author; and is since used by all and sundry today without even awareness that they are echoing Goebbels. So with Nato and the Atlantic Holy Alliance. Testament of Nazism.

A New 'Mein Kampf'

Music of the past? On the contrary. It is now that the dangerous harvest is ripening, now today when the closely linked German militarists and Ruhr monopolists have once again established their economic and military predominance in capitalist Europe and are reaching for nuclear arms. The expansionist aims of the resurrected German militarism and big capital, and of their spokesman, whether Christian Democrats or the Social Democrat leaders of the Schumacher-Brandt school, to expand the frontiers of West Germany at the expense of the territories of other states, are still as openly proclaimed as ever were the equally open expansionist aims set out

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in *Mein Kampf*. The purpose of West German participation in the so-called 'European Army' was proclaimed by Chancellor Adenauer in December 1951, when he said:

> Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European Army is to recover our Eastern territories.

Dr. Hallstein, when West German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before he became President of the Common Market, declared in the United States:

> The chief aim of my Government is the unity of Europe up to the Urals.

This was also Hitler's formula. Theodor Blank, Security Commissioner for West Germany, in charge of the rebuilding of the German army, declared in June 1954:

> The new German Army will not be a defensive force.

Oberlaender, the war criminal, who continued as Minister in the Bonn Government until in 1960 he was forced out as a result of his exposure by the German Democratic Republic, set out, in a speech while he was still a Government Minister, at Bremen on June 14, 1957, the old Hitlerite programme:

> In Russia the land is waiting for us. We must take root there. We must liberate, not only the 17 million people in East Germany, but also the 120 millions inhabiting the European parts of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

Method in Madness

Insane ambitions? So also were dismissed the equally explicit programme declarations of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as empty vapourings to be ignored. As Home has since so engagingly told us, the only mistake about Munich was that Chamberlain and he, in calculating that Communism was the 'greater danger' rather than Hitler, had not realised that Hitler was 'mad'. Perhaps; though not so mad as Chamberlain and Home. Madmen also can be dangerous, especially if provided with lethal weapons. Today it is universally recognised, even by the Munichites, even by Home, that the statesmen of the West would have been wiser to pay more attention to the very plain, explicit programme declarations of Hitler, and counter the danger in time, rather than let themselves be swept over the precipice by their anti-communist mania. But what is not recognised is that the same applies to the present situation. The lesson has not yet been learned. Once again they fondly imagine that they have got their powerfully rearmed West Germany, with already the strongest army in West Europe and rapidly increasing in numbers,

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safely 'under control' through all the paper network of Paris Agreements, West European Union, joint commands and the rest of it. Once again they would be wiser to take more seriously the very plain and explicit programme declarations of expansionist aims of West Germany today, of all the leading statesmen of West Germany, and to consider the best steps to diminish the danger. They would be wiser to return to the path of Teheran, to the path of co-operation with the Soviet Union in order to hold in check the resurrected German militarism and maintain peace in Europe.

'Peaceful' Expansion?

But surely, some innocents still urge, all the more responsible official statements of the West German Government, if we overlook the wilder clamours at highly organised mass rallies of former storm troopers and the like, always emphasise that the aim of expansion of the frontiers of West Germany, not only to annex the German Democratic Republic, but also at the expense of the frontiers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and other states, are only intended to be accomplished by strictly peaceful means. It is extraordinary that there should still be any innocent enough to find this formula credible. Perhaps Munich by this reasoning might be regarded as a triumphant model of a 'peaceful' alteration of frontiers, because the entire force of British and French imperialism was brought to bear to compel the Benes Government to submit to the invasion of German troops. Annexations of territory between states are forceful actions. The profession of the desire to accomplish such forceful aims by peaceful means is a familiar conventional formula, and not least familiar in the records of German militarism. Stresemann, when Foreign Minister of the Weimar Republic, replied to the question of a Hamburg journalist in 1926:

> You cannot expect the German Government and German diplomacy to be so naïve as to inform the *Entente* (Britain and France) that Germany intends to alter its frontier by force.

Hitler declared at a Nazi press conference on November 10, 1938, that is, after his Munich victory:

> Circumstances forced me for decades to speak almost exclusively of peace. Only on condition of constantly underlining the German will to peace, and its peaceful intentions, was it possible for me to give the German people the armaments which were always necessary as a preliminary to the next step.

As the outcome showed, when the time was deemed ripe, when the rearmament had been accomplished by the aid of the Western

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powers, the mask was thrown aside. We are too dangerously near that point in West German rearmament today.

Hopeful Sheep

But surely, the sheep continue to argue, blind to the lesson of the thirties, it is inconceivable that the West German High Command, however much stronger their army now than the armies of the other West European powers, would be so mad as to venture on military action in face of the immeasurably greater strength of the Soviet Union today than in 1941 and the firm alliance of the Warsaw Pact socialist powers in place of the rotten fascist dictatorships of the thirties with whom Chamberlain made his alliance. Once again it may be noted that by this argument the sheep are looking hopefully to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact to save them from the menace of the resurrected German militarism they have helped to rearm, oblivious of the previous experience that last time the first thrust of the uncaged beast was to the West. Certainly the balance of forces in the world is decisively changed. Certainly the new balance in the world means that in the long run any new war offensive of the resurrected German militarism, even though utilising Nato, even though a victorious Ultra-Right in the United States should back it, would be doomed to utter defeat. But to reach such an outcome countless millions of the innocent would also be doomed in a catastrophe of incalculable proportions. We do not want such a path. And it is precisely here and for this reason that the immediate present danger arises, not in the long term, not in the world balance of forces, not from accident (as the fiction writers imagine), but from the very real possibility of a planned short-term adventure of the resurrected German militarism to put through a lightning stroke with success, gambling on the desire of the major powers to avoid a general war.

Theory of the Offensive

The theory of the German High Command is and has always been the theory of the offensive. Only the failure to put through the Schlieffen Plan bogged down the war of 1914, giving time to the Western powers to gather their superior forces and eventually (but only after the opening of the socialist revolution in Eastern Europe and its powerful repercussions in Central Europe had changed the whole situation of the war) inflict defeat on the old Germany of the Kaiser. After that crushing defeat the revival of

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German militarism from utter prostration to complete domination of Europe from the Atlantic to the borders of the Soviet Union within twenty-two years was only made possible, first by playing on the anti-communist mania of the West to shatter the bonds of Versailles and secure rearmament, and thereafter during the thirties by the new application of the theory of the offensive—the successive lightning thrusts of Hitler, with inferior forces in face of far superior potentially opposed forces, but gambling on the unwillingness of the Western powers to enter into a conflict with fascism.

Renewal of the Theory of the Offensive

This is the key to the strategy of the West German High Command today. For the benefit of those who are still slumbering ('While England Slept'), let us never forget the words of the then Defence Minister Strauss in his speech at Santa Rosa in California on July 25, 1961:

> For us the Second World War is not yet finished.

General Heusinger, Chief of General Staff Operations under Hitler, who subsequently became, with the usual appropriate continuity, Chairman of the Nato Military Planning Committee, laid down as his guiding principle of strategy for the West:

> Attack whenever a chance presents itself. This is the method of fighting which the West should use in its encounters with the East.

Nor has this theory been confined to the military representatives. Schumacher, who was the Leader of the Social Democratic Party in West Germany, after the British and American authorities had forbidden the socialist-communist unification, pledged during the anti-Nazi resistance, to take place (the unification was only fulfilled in East Germany), laid down in January 1951:

> It is necessary that if war starts it should at once be carried East of the German frontier.

And again in 1950:

> Dr. Schumacher said that the first aim of a West German Army would be to reconquer what is now West Poland, and that it must try to fight its battles East of the Vistula.
>
> (*Manchester Guardian*, September 9, 1950.)

Brandt has not repudiated his predecessor, nor did he repudiate his own openly proclaimed support of the expansionist aims for West Germany when he was accorded the platform as the principal guest speaker at the Scarborough Labour Party rally in October. Mikardo's protest went unanswered. The blueprint of the West

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German High Command for a lightning stroke to overrun the German Democratic Republic in twelve hours—of course in response to an 'appeal for help' from an 'uprising' of planted agents—has long been familiar as the typical Hitlerite gambler's calculation that, once a *de facto* situation has been created, the other powers will hesitate to begin a general war. The Berlin Wall since 1961 has placed obstacles in the way of this plan by hampering the previous free passage of agents. This is one of the many ways in which the Berlin Wall is a key bastion of peace in the present European situation.

Who Divided Germany?

But surely, argue the sheep, is not the partition of Germany an injustice? Does not this injustice justify the claims of the West German Government and political leaders? Have not the German people the right to self-determination? Just so in the thirties the wrongs of Versailles were cited by Hitler as the justification for his expansionist aims; and many were the innocents in the West who, beating their breasts in belated remorse for the guilt of Versailles, danced to Hitler's tune. It is time for the innocents to realise who divided Germany and who fought for the unity of Germany. Let them consult the Minutes of the Teheran Conference which we print on page 561.

> STALIN: What are the proposals on this matter (the question of Germany)?
> ROOSEVELT: The partition of Germany.
> CHURCHILL: I am for partitioning Germany.
> ROOSEVELT: I want to set forth a plan for partitioning Germany into five states, which I personally drew up two months ago.

Thereupon Stalin explained the objections to partition by stating that the German soldiers fought as Germans, irrespective of what part of Germany they came from, and concluded by a proposal for further discussion, thus blocking the adoption of the American-British plan for the partition of Germany:

> STALIN: There are no steps that could exclude the possibility of Germany's unification. . . . I don't know that there is need to set up four, five or six independent German states. This question must be discussed.

Clear enough. The Western Governments were already then for the partition of Germany. The Soviet Government blocked the plans for the partition of Germany.

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How the West Divided Germany

For nine years from the ending of the war the Soviet Union fought against the West for a united Germany. Already at the Potsdam Peace Conference Stalin proposed the immediate setting up of a Provisional Democratic Government for the whole of Germany. The Western powers opposed this, and from the outset sought to make permanent the temporary zones of military control, established only as a provisional expedient to ensure the fulfilment of the Potsdam decisions for demilitarisation and disarmament and the destruction of Nazi organisations, and thereby create the conditions for a united democratic disarmed Germany and a peace treaty with such a Germany. The Western powers created successively Bizonia and Trizonia; sabotaged the Four Power commission for a single currency reform for the whole of Germany by unilaterally introducing a separate West German currency (printed in Washington), thereby initiating the Berlin crisis of 1948; and finally established unilaterally the West German State, thereby compelling the *subsequent* establishment of the German Democratic Republic. Hitler's generals, neo-Nazism and the big monopolist backers of Hitler were restored in West Germany. West Germany was drawn into the anti-Soviet alliance of Nato to be rearmed as a member of Nato. With ceaseless protests and proposals the Soviet representatives throughout these years opposed these illegal measures of the West and strove for the fulfilment of the Potsdam agreement for a united democratic disarmed Germany. The last Soviet Note was delivered as late as 1954 immediately prior to the adoption of the plan for the rearmament of West Germany as a member of Nato. This Soviet Note of 1954 made a final proposal for free democratic elections under agreed international supervision over the whole of Germany in order to establish a united democratic disarmed Germany which should not be linked in any military alliance with either side. In the event of refusal of this offer, the Soviet Note gave the final warning that the establishment of a rearmed West German state as a member of the sectional military coalition Nato would close the door against German reunification. The West had the choice. Either a united peaceful disarmed Germany with free democratic elections, or the division of Germany for the sake of rebuilding German militarism in a West German State. The Western powers, and also the West German political leaders, the Adenauers and the Brandts, deliberately chose the division of Germany in order to secure the rearmament of German militarism as a member of Nato. They are

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in no position now to complain of the division of Germany and try to make this a justification for their expansionist aims.

Home's Maps

Where does Premier Home stand on this serious question of Germany and the expansionist aims of German militarism, which is more and more manifestly crucial for the peace of Europe and the world? Home as Foreign Secretary has already given a significant indication. In December 1961 the Foreign Office under Home published a Blue Book entitled 'Selected Documents on Germany and the Question of Berlin' at the price of 25 shillings, followed by a pamphlet next month 'The Meaning of Berlin' at one shilling. Both these give a map of 'Germany 1962' in which the 'international frontiers' of Germany are given as those of Hitler's Germany of 1937. Not only is the Oder-Neisse line thus displaced in favour of the claims of the German militarists, but the very bulky volume of 'Selected Documents', by some strange oversight, omits the specific pledges of the British Government and Foreign Office, set out in the famous Cadogan letter of November 2, 1944, and Churchill's statements as Prime Minister to parliament on December 15, 1944, and February 27, 1945, to support the Oder-Neisse line, and prints instead an unofficial subsequent speech by Churchill, when not in office, attacking the Oder-Neisse line. Sir Alexander Cadogan, then Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, declared in his letter of reply to the Polish Foreign Minister on November 2, 1944:

> You enquired whether His Majesty's Government were definitely in favour of advancing the Polish frontier up to the line of the Oder to include the port of Stettin. The answer is that His Majesty's Government do consider that Poland should have the right to extend her territory to this extent.

When this pledge was confirmed by Churchill as Prime Minister in his statement to parliament on December 15, 1944, he said that he was

> speaking on behalf of His Majesty's Government in a way which I believe would probably be held binding by our successors.

But not by Home. Britain's solemn pledge has been repudiated by Home in favour of the expansionist aims of West German militarism. It is at this moment that the prospect of German militarism winning access to nuclear arms is brought dangerously closer by the prospect of the multilateral nuclear force and it is worth noting that it was Home who, as Foreign Secretary, agreed to participation in official consultations on this project. There has been a spate of books and

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discussions recently on what happened at Munich, and even on the first world war. It would be well if a little attention were given to what is happening today to prepare new explosions—and not least to what is being smuggled across by Home in the decisive sphere of foreign policy under cover of grandiose talk of the 'modernisation' of Britain.

Beware of the Election Shop Window

All the proceedings of the new parliamentary session, the Queen's Speech and the Home Government's programme, and of the sham debate ('with dummy swords, and nobody got hurt', *The Times*, November 13, 1963) have indicated that the Tory Government and Labour Front Bench are united in endeavouring to concentrate public attention on home affairs, as if these could be separated from the decisive issues of world policy which govern home affairs. The competition is in schemes for the 'modernisation' of Britain, with each side accusing the other of stealing its best suit. The Government programme announced in the Queen's speech presented a vast electoral shop window of promises and perspectives and platitudes, exceeding even 1955 and 1959. A Queen's Speech is normally a terse summary of bills to be presented. It is doubtful whether any Queen's Speech has offered such an array of generalities and abstractions as that offered to the public on November 12, 1963:

EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMY.
GROWTH WITHOUT INFLATION.
A HIGH AND STABLE LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT.
MODERNISATION OF BRITAIN.
A MODERN TRANSPORT SYSTEM.
AN EFFICIENT AND PROSPEROUS HOME AGRICULTURE.
ECONOMIC GROWTH MATCHED BY SOCIAL ADVANCE.

Wonderful. Wonderful. Simple Simons, Walk up and buy! Such a chance may never occur again.

Grimmer Content

But a closer examination of such hard content as there is would reveal a different result from the glowing prospectus. *The Times* inferred 24 Bills from the speech, of which four were described as 'major bills.' The four 'major bills' cover (1) Defence reorganisation and strengthening; (2) Police centralisation; (3) Industrial training, necessitated by the changes in industry; (4) Housing. Thus the main concentration is on strengthening the state machinery of coercion and meeting the requirements of monopoly capital. Only

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one of the four touches a social question; and here justified exposure has not been lacking of the fantastic character of a 'Housing Bill' which does not touch the key problems of land, inflated land prices and land ownership; rents and rent control; interest charges; or the public building of houses and flats to let at rents within reach of workers' wages. The parade of vast figures thrown out to indicate future astronomical expenditure on public investment, health and education, is usually found on examination either to be characterised by such vagueness that the aggregate total is a matter of dispute, or to represent targets and aims over a period of years totted up together to make a single large figure, or to constitute a compilation from plans already in hand, leaving finally a considerably smaller hard residue which may be regarded as the normal Tory election year special expenditure to give a boost to the economy until the election is over. But for the really urgent social needs of the old age pensioners, or the dismally low level of unemployment and sickness benefits, nothing is offered. A hard-faced programme of Big Capital behind the mask of Santa Claus.

Why Not Fight Home?

The challenge of the Tory programme is inescapable. But in face of this challenge the Labour Front Bench has chosen the fatal ground of fighting it on the charge of excessive expense. Wilson estimated that the Tory new expenditure proposed would amount to 'over £1,000 million between now and 1969', and hotly demanded how this would be paid for. 'Inflation', warned Callaghan. 'A spending spree' became the favourite Labour term of denunciation. Once again, as at the Scarborough Labour Party Conference (see last month's Notes pp. 491-2 on 'The New Asceticism' and 'Labour Austerity') as the grand prophets of Austerity, sackcloth and ashes, and wages restraint to build up British capitalism. Not surprisingly even the far from agile debater Home seized on the opportunity to pose the unanswerable question: What would Labour cut? Would Labour cut expenditure on Health? Or Education? Or Housing? Or other Social Services? Unanswerable for the Labour Front Bench, because the Labour Front Bench was tied hand and foot and could not make the obvious answer which would occur at once to any rank and filer: Cut the Arms Bill, and there will be plenty of money for social needs. Official Labour policy is pledged to maintain, and even possibly increase, the present inflated arms expenditure, diminishing the proportion on nuclear arms only to increase the propor-

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tion on 'conventional' arms and armed forces, so as to maintain Britain's world imperialist role in the Persian Gulf or South East Asia. Thus the world imperialist role of Britain in fact governs the domestic issues and possibilities, and its acceptance paralyses official Labour policy also on the home front.

Alternative for Peace

Never was there such need for a real alternative policy which fights Toryism on the whole front, equally on foreign and domestic issues. Only a policy for peace can open the way to tackle the burning social and economic needs of the people. That is why the fight to bring down Toryism needs to be combined, both before the election, during the election and after the election with the fight for such an alternative policy. That is why the battle of the Communist candidates, however hard and difficult at the moment in the existing electoral conditions and with the denial of the main means of mass communication, is of such vital importance for the whole labour movement and for the future of Britain. It is necessary to tell the truth to the people. It is necessary to make understood why the seemingly 'remote' questions of foreign policy and the cold war, of nuclear strategy and Nato and Polaris bases, of German militarism and Malaysia and vast overseas military expenditure, are in fact decisive for the future of every man, woman and child in Britain. We cannot afford to repeat the deadly error of the 1935 election, when Labour went into the electoral battle applauding the Tory Foreign Minister Hoare's proclamation of unfaltering fidelity to collective security and the fulfilment of the League of Nations Covenant against Italian fascist aggression—and the outcome was the Hoare-Laval Pact and Munich. Every one today recognises that the one saving grace of that 1935 election was the return of the single Communist M.P. Gallacher, who alone raised his voice in parliament against Munich when every other M.P. either applauded or was silent. The situation is more urgent today. It is time to move to the alternative policy. It is time to advance anew to the principles of Teheran, the principles of co-operation of the Great Powers (including now the Chinese People's Republic) at the head of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace, to bar the road to new aggression of German militarism, and to 'banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.'

R.P.D.

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the Sixties

NEDDY: THE CONFIDENCE TRICK

J. K. Dutton*

REFERENCES to the 4 per cent 'growth target' put forward by the National Economic Development Council are frequent, and frequently misleading: misleading because it fosters the false assumption that the present Government is converted to economic planning. It can be said that the idea of planning is no longer condemned by the conservative press, but this is a bowing to political necessity, rather than a change of heart. We live still in a competitive and essentially unplanned economy dominated by financial and commercial interests with virtually complete autonomy in deciding the policies which seem to them at any one time to be potentially profitable: although government intervention can take powerful forms and has done so, the 'stop-go' characteristic imparted to our economy by successive Conservative Chancellors has arisen from Government intervention, but hardly constitutes 'planning' in any scientific sense. An analogy might be found in the conduct of a car-driver suffering from intermittent cramp in his right foot: his actions would be unscientific but would exert a considerable influence on the movement of the car and the safety of its passengers.

The National Economic Development Council asked a cross-section of public and private industry to assess the impact and feasibility for them of a national growth rate of 4 per cent per annum —an interesting exercise in economics. But of what significance is the result of the exercise unless the Government has—or takes—powers of control that give the conclusion reality? In fact, halfway through the 1961-66 quinquennium, the growth target is still just a target.

NEDC's reports are interesting and to an extent informative documents: they must nevertheless be seen as expressions of opinion emanating from a very strange set of bedfellows. The chairman is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the councillors include trade union leaders, industrialists, Lord Robens and Dr. Beeching, and any opinions that are expressed must presumably be based on the lowest common denominator of agreement between them all. Odd that this should have included the famous dictum that wages, salaries and

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profits would need to rise more slowly than in recent years if exports were to rise sufficiently to meet the 4 per cent growth target. Did the President of the Federation of British Industries really mean it? And if so, did he also subscribe to the different view that 'Economic growth on stable foundations would be thwarted by keeping profits at all times in step with other incomes' (July 25th) expressed by the F.B.I.? Some of the trade union representatives were at pains to explain what they really meant in Brighton: the explanations were pretty tortuous. The context of the NEDC report in which the statement on wages, salaries and profits was made, exonerates at least the F.B.I. President, for the rate of increase which is criticised as too fast, is that of the rise in total money income per person employed, if you can work that out. It can be expected that future reports on 'incomes policies' will be more circumspect.

To my mind the most dangerous implication of the Council's reports is that the trade union movement can become tied to economic theories that ought to be challenged, even inside a capitalist society (and it is of little use for us to say simply that socialism is the prerequisite to economic planning, for we have to live with capitalism meanwhile). There is, unfortunately, no indication that the Council questions the basis of our industrial effort, no indication that they see the implications of insufficient research and development. If trade in the manufacturing industries which have grown fastest in world trade is examined, we find the following:

Exports in $ million, 1961 (Prof. Barna, *The Times*, August 12, 1963).

	U.K.	U.S.	W. Germany
Plastics	134	292	251
Misc. Chemicals	142	431	175
Scientific and Photographic Instruments	99	258	274
Organic Chemicals	113	245	284
Machine Tools	104	251	288

This clearly reflects our failure to enter effectively into the scientific age: this failure is the subject of comment of all kinds and recent reports illustrate the problem and its context—the Fielden Report, the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy on its Annual Report and that of its scientific manpower committee, and in education the Newsom and Robbins Reports. Perhaps NEDC will realise that this is becoming an attractive bandwagon and will attempt now to climb on. The criticism will nevertheless remain that through the smoked glasses of orthodox economic theories they saw the trees rather than the wood. The General Council of the T.U.C. have

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said that the resources of the trade union movement have been strained through participation in Neddy, with the implication that participation in the bodies called grotesquely 'little neddies' will be an added strain. The extent to which this comment indicates reliance on economists trained in Treasury thinking is quite frightening. There was a time when socialist thinking, even of a 'reformist' nature, was said to be the common basis for the labour movement, yet nowhere in the Neddy reports is anything said which would cause an eyebrow to be lifted in the boardrooms of industry, the lowest common denominator factor appearing to be the acceptance of capitalist economics without question.

This is our problem: the trade unions are involved in a so-called 'planning instrument'—an overstatement in any case—without apparently any clear concept of their own on how the economy should develop; and on the left of the labour movement thinking on this question is all too currently shelved with the slogans of 'socialism now' and 'no wage-restraint'. These are excellent slogans, but no substitute for an effective trade union policy on the new problems facing the economy: a lot more serious thinking is needed inside our movement if we are not to become the victims rather than the makers of policy.

WAGES CURB ON THE ROCKS

'Vulcan'

WAGE restraint is on the rocks. The New Year is going to see some sharp shocks whichever political party provides Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. For in practically every industry substantial claims for wages and shorter hours are pending or already in, usually backed by threats of drastic action.

Once there was a wage freeze, introduced by a Labour Chancellor, Sir Stafford Cripps, to help the last Labour Government out of its difficulties: to meet the cost of the cold war, the colonial wars, and its vast arms bill. In 1948 most trade union leaders accepted the principle of a 'temporary wage freeze, not to rock the boat', except in special cases. Their members were having none of it. They all proved to be special cases. The wage freeze policy foundered.

Of recent years wage restraint, 'incomes policy', 'planned growth' or what have you is recommended as a permanent feature and the trade union movement is urged to commit itself to it in advance of

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a Labour Government. That this is equally a non-starter has now become clear. Take three outstanding examples.

The engineers, rejecting the employers' offer of a Government-inspired 3 per cent, demanded last month 'a substantial rise' in minimum rates and the 40 hour week, backing it with threat of official bans on overtime and piece-rate working. The shipbuilding workers, with similar claims, stood by, in reserve: 3,000,000 in all.

The hard-pressed railwaymen, whose industry is the reverse of a 'growth industry' under Dr. Beeching, put in a claim for 11 per cent. The railway shopmen stood by, in reserve; over half a million.

After tendering official strike notice, the dockers won the 40 hour week without loss of pay, although there were certain suspect clauses attached to the agreement. The busmen and other transport workers were in support of the dockers, pressing sizeable claims on wages and hours.

Their leaders, Sir William Carron (Amalgamated Engineering Union: 986,500 members), Mr. Sydney Greene (National Union of Railwaymen: 310,572 members) and Mr. Frank Cousins (Transport & General Workers: 1,331,000 members) have been the leading figures of the six-man delegation from the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on the National Economic Development Council which insists on

> policies to ensure incomes as a whole rise less rapidly than in the past.

We have the spectacle of the currently best known Director of the Bank of England actually proposing the overtime ban in support of the engineers' claim. For it was Sir William Carron who put that forward to the Executive Council of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions last month. (Well! maybe anything can happen in an election year.)

Perhaps these are special cases? Mr. Greene's men were promised the principle of comparability with other industries by the Guillebaud Report, produced hurriedly four years ago to stave off a national railway strike; their claim is based on that principle. Mr. Cousins' members include many of the lowest paid, not least the women. But these are not the only 'special cases'. There are the miners (563,000) whose 'substantial' claim will also include compensatory payments for those displaced by automation; the building trade workers, who have won 5 per cent and reduced hours; civil engineering, with a similar claim; electricians, whose renunciation of a three-year agreement and 3 per cent with the Electricity Council in favour of a 'substantial' rise has taken the shine off the much-

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pushed long-term agreements. Nor are these all. Others with substantial demands, often linked with reduced hours and other claims, such as non-contributory sick pay schemes, include seamen, hosiery and garment workers, shop assistants and furnishing trades. The last have a thoroughgoing 9-point charter, including holidays, pension and sickness schemes.

Another feature is the wide range of actions, officially endorsed, in support of claims. One factor has been that unions are reacting to the Government's interference with conciliation machinery, of which a gross case was the National Incomes Commission intervening to prevent the agreement between Scottish builders and employers for a 40 hour week being implemented. Defending the recent settlement of the English builders' claim from rank and file criticism, the October Journal of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers said:

> We were fully aware, if only judging by our own experience in 1962 and that of other industries this year, that arbitration would not have awarded more than the Government-inspired 3½ per cent. . . . As events turned out our refusal to go to arbitration in conjunction with the one week's strike on selected sites had the effect of influencing the employers to agree to the resumption of negotiations . . . (the settlement was) a massive blow against Government policy—a crushing blow to the National Incomes Commission!

This, from a body which is far from having a left-wing leadership, is a straw in the wind.

The other side were quick to note and lament the new climate. *The Times* saw as an immediate danger 'the wage claims and negotiations now taking place against a background of rising activity.' When the Ford car-workers won an increase of 5 per cent, followed by a similar advance, during the Luton by-election, of that town's workers at Vauxhall Motors, *The Times* declared (November 2) that this, together with

> the bus dispute, and the lesser known (though highly significant and important) claims of the Scottish builders are all part of a threat to the Government's incomes policy.

The Ford settlement was a threat 'in its most virulent form' and 'a major breakaway from the Government's "guiding light" of 3½ per cent', and 'bound to set off a similar round of claims in allied trades'. Whilst it admitted the need 'to recognise the special claims of the growth industries', it sternly condemned 'unjustified claims by the less efficient or less well-placed'.

That is the voice of the employer, an outlook not shared by the

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millions who have been feckless enough to get themselves into 'non-growth industries', over whose expansion they can have no control short of taking over 'the commanding heights' of basic industries. What is in the workers' minds increasingly is speed-up, automation and unemployment. Linking together two demands, more money, less hours—amongst varying types of workers simultaneously can also bring into action simultaneously sections whose interests have long been seen not only as different but even at variance. Increasing basic wages is vitally important to those on scandalously low wages, especially where they cannot augment earnings by shift-working or overtime. This includes ever-increasing numbers of part-time workers, predominantly women, forced to go out to work to reinforce the low family wage packet. Demanded at the same time, the shorter working week can be of great significance in three directions. It can lay the basis for strong collective defence in areas where unemployment is chronic or in industries affected by automation. It can stimulate local negotiations for improved earnings where there is strong organisation at workshop level, and allay the fear of the skilled worker, whom post-war conditions have given cause to be abnormally preoccupied with loss of differential. Thirdly, it can meet the plain need for shorter hours to combat the horrifying effects of Yankee-style speed-up.

Linked, the two demands can bring home forcibly to all a basic lesson which should never be overlooked: the employer has more than one method of extracting surplus value from the worker; to make him work as long as possible, as fast as possible, and for as little as possible—and all three, if possible. The combined struggle for increased wages and shorter hours puts workers in a position to turn these possibilities into impossibilities.

Back in the summer we wrote of the engineering and shipbuilding industries: 'Leadership, democracy, a policy of struggle—or something will have to give'. Something has given. The wage restraint policy is on the rocks. It will take more than smooth words from a Labour Shadow Chancellor about a policy of 'planned growth of wages' to salvage it. The workers in many industries now are going in for some incomes policy-making of their own. It is: more money, less hours—now. A powerful beginning, if only a beginning.

But there is yet another lesson which increasingly needs to be grasped by all workers game enough to react vehemently on the shop floor. Recognition of it would open a new phase indeed. The insoluble problems created by monopoly capitalism in Britain are

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reaching the stage where the struggle for wages, hours and the right to work itself cannot be successfully won solely in the workshop, however strongly organised; nor, indeed, in one industry alone. Each economic struggle has got to be seen and fought as a class struggle. The problems of automation in a class society raise directly the question of working class power. But that is also true of all the problems: unemployment, hours, 'incomes policy', the social services and peace. It means a challenge to break the whole power of the monopolies. It is much, much later than you think.

HOME AND THE CONSERVATIVES

William Gallacher

POOR old Rab, there he was, twice ready to pass the post, in the Downing Street Handicap when a no-good gang moved the post and left him standing there utterly bewildered. All the other jockeys jammed up around him and while they were looking for the vanished finishing post, a rank outsider who was in the know, went slipping past and was proclaimed winner. Surely, said one unreliable correspondent to the woesome Rab, 'surely there never was anything the like of this in the history of racing?'. 'You are wrong in that', Rab might have answered, 'the same thing happened twice with Herb Morrison. First little Attlee slipped past him, and then "Old School Tie, Gaitskell" left him standing where the post had been. In the latter case there were 157 in the gang that ousted him, and I heard somewhere that he was alleged to have made a statement something like: "I dragged the party to the Right; expelled all who were loyal; and then the Old School Tie brigade foiled my well-laid plans".' So the new Tory motto has become 'We must preserve party unity'. As for Maudling, he was busy making sure that the gang that had 'worked the oracle' did not get themselves committed to anything that could in any way interfere with the holy practice of piling up profits.

But now let us get to the really serious side of this all too dirty piece of shuffling that has ended with a gross insult to the people of this country. Look at what they have presented us with! When he was in parliament no one paid him any particular attention. In fact, if he had not been a wealthy, very wealthy, landowner I am quite certain that he never would have been selected. But there is one thing about him that commends him to his kind—he has a

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deep-seated hatred of the Soviet Union arising from the menace its example offers to all their rape-won privileges and pomp.

It was that hatred, shared by his, then, leader Chamberlain that brought upon us the Second World War. That's a pretty strong statement but, it's true! Recently he made an attempt to white wash Chamberlain in which he stated that the mistake he had made was not having recognised that Hitler was mad. What a miserable attempt at a get-out from this most despicable and craven act of Chamberlain's. What is the meaning of Munich? At the time, it was so cunningly stage-managed that many of those involved had no realisation of what had been going on. Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia constitute Czechoslovakia. Bohemia borders on Germany and the Czechs had exceptionally powerful fortification on the bordering mountains. In western Bohemia (Sudetenland) there was a considerable population of Germans. Konrad Heinlein had organised the toughs amongst these into Nazi groups, attacking and brutally beating up all known anti-Nazis. When the Czech Government tried to control these thugs, Hitler in Berlin raved at his wildest about how 'the scoundrels Benes' was persecuting 'our German brothers' in Bohemia. This was the technique that had been applied to Austria; now there arose the 'Sudeten question'.

Early in May 1938 Chamberlain was in that centre of Fascist conspiracy, Cliveden. A group of Canadian and American journalists were invited to meet him. The following day reports appeared in the Canadian and American press that in an interview, Chamberlain had expressed the opinion that the Sudetenland (Western Bohemia) should be ceded to Hitler. Several weeks later the German army marched towards the Czech frontier. The Czech Government mobilised the army and troops, and tanks thundered towards the fortifications. France declared that if Czechoslovakia was attacked she would honour her treaty and side with the Czechs; the Soviet Union made it known that their agreement with France would be honoured. If Britain had joined with France and the Soviet Union such an encirclement would have put finish to Nazi pretentions and there would, in all probability have been no Second World War. But Chamberlain and Home wanted otherwise. Even without Britain the combination was too strong for Hitler and there was nothing for him but to withdraw his troops, a bitter humiliation! Chamberlain's first trip was Berchtesgaden where, no doubt, the next step was discussed, and the next step was to get France to repudiate its alliance with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

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All the running to and fro that followed was directed towards that end. Godesburg! Hitler 'patience exhausted' handed Chamberlain a document for the latter to pass on to the Czechs: the German army to occupy Western Bohemia without a shot being fired and all fortification to be left intact to be taken over by the invading army. This unspeakably nefarious document was handed over by Chamberlain 'without *comment*' which meant that the Czech Government had better accept—or else! Then back to Britain, the next stage in the preparations. A real war scare: reserves called up, naval squadrons at battle stations, gas masks issued, preparations for food-rationing; something like panic created. The House of Commons was brought together on September 21. A packed House taut with nerves, heard Chamberlain start a long wail of how he had laboured for peace; he had not stopped trying; and he had sent, in a last effort, a letter to Hitler. In an atmosphere deliberately created, he read the letter to which scant attention was given. No sooner had he read it than there was a stir in the benches behind him; a telegram had been handed in and was being passed along. He held it for a moment in his hands. There was a silence that could be felt. Then he looked at it, turned and gazed with a hypocritical grin to his followers: 'Hitler', he told them, 'has agreed to another meeting. I must leave immediately for Munich'. Pandemonium. A surge of relief brought cheer after cheer with one certifiable Tory shouting 'Thank God for the Prime Minister'.

Off went Chamberlain and Home with 'Godspeed' from Attlee and Sinclair and general cheering. But Churchill sat in his corner seat with his jaws clamped and his brows drawn down, clearly opposed to all that was going on but realising that he would not be listened to if he made a protest. What I met with in such an effort was enough to convince him of that. Here is the letter that was sent to Hitler; a letter that shows that France had been won over:

> Dear Herr Hitler, After reading your letter I feel certain that you can get all the essentials without war and without delay. I am ready to come to Berlin myself at once to discuss *arrangements for transfer* with you and representatives of the Czech Government, together with representatives of France and Italy, if you desire. However much you distrust the Prague Government's intentions, *you cannot doubt the power of the British and French Governments to see that the promises are carried out fairly and fully and forthwith*. (My emphasis in both cases.) As you know, I have stated publicly that we are prepared to undertake that they shall be so carried out.

Having deliberately prepared the way, he and Home went off to complete the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and, thereby, opened wide

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the road to war. War came, but not as they had contemplated.

Now, Home has the brazen audacity to say that we will be able to talk with the Communists 'if they give up the use of force'. What impudence! Apart from the fact the Americans have bases and Polaris all over the place; apart from Suez, and our soldiers in Aden and other parts of Arabia, he himself claims to own a very considerable part of Scotland, and how does he come to possess it? Thomas Johnston, now a very respectable citizen, in his unregenerate days wrote a book entltled, *Our Noble Families*, dealing with the Scottish nobility. Murder, rape and all sorts of skull-duggery, including the basest forms of treachery.

During the past weeks there have been great celebrations, with quite a show on television in connection with the 800th Anniversary of the Paisley Abbey. On the television, the present incumbent Dr. Rogan gave a long and interesting history, leading up to the modern version of the old structure. But I am not aware that any mention has been made in all the proceedings, of its most famous incumbent, Rev. Patrick Brewster. About 130 years ago he delivered a series of Chartist sermons, from which we may take a word or two applicable to Home's ancestors. After an exposure of how the small body of exploiters robbed the people, he went on:

> Yet are they the only patriots—the only lovers of freedom and humanity! This is their unceasing boast. Let us try them also by this test. Wherever the cause of freedom has been nobly contested—wherever the hopes of humanity have pointed to a glorious deliverance, upon which side have we invariably found them arrayed? . . . Their power, their wealth, and their most devoted exertions are still, as they always have been, in every quarter of the world, on the side of the oppressor, and against the oppressed.

It applied then, and it applies today, and this peculiar product of a peculiar exhibition of bourgeois democracy, who is Prime Minister, is an outstanding example of those he condemned, as this further quotation makes clear:

> Cast your eyes over the land, count the number of the idlers who are each consuming the bread of a thousand families—consuming what neither their own labour, nor the labour of their fathers ever produced, but what they acquired at first by the hand of power alone.

Yes, by *force* and *fraud*! Will this relic of robber feudalism voluntarily hand back the land his forebears stole? If not, then let him be sure that I will do all in my power, as a Communist, to get the organised working class, at the earliest moment, to take back the land which properly belongs to the people.

CORRECTION: Page 512, line 33 (November), for 'two or three hundred' read 'two or three' only.

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DIMITROV ACQUITTED

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

IT is thirty years this month since the great hero of the Bulgarian —and the world's—working class, Georgi Dimitrov, was acquitted by the Supreme Court of Germany of the charge of burning the Reichstag building, set on fire on February 27, 1933.

All the world knows today, and much of it knew already then, that the fire had in truth been set by the Nazis to create a pretext for blaming the Communists, outlawing their party, invalidating their votes at the General Election of March 5, 1933, and thus establishing the Nazi dictatorship that lasted for twelve awful years.

But the Nazis had their difficulties, as well as the advantages that gangster-politics, plus the tacit approval and support of British and other Tories, brought them. Their principal difficulty lay in the facts that, having staged the fire provocation, they had to go on and hold a trial which should convince the world that the Communists were really to blame; also convince the ruling classes of Western Europe that the Nazis could be relied on to destroy the political power of the working class, and therefore deserved their support. To hold such a trial, they had to find some Communists to 'frame' as accused; they had to have evidence of some sort; and they had to prove that the one man caught on the scene of the fire, a poor half-blind, half-witted Dutchman called van der Lubbe, must have had accomplices to help him, whom of course they called Communists.

Their difficulties worked out in this way. Firstly, for the accused, they picked among others Georgi Dimitrov, thus catching the greatest of all tartars. Secondly, for evidence they found nothing better than a string of liars, perjurers and criminals. Thirdly, every effort they made to prove that van der Lubbe had accomplices, made it more and more clear that the only route any accomplices could possibly have used was the tunnel which ran from the residence of the President of the Reichstag, namely Goering, to the Reichstag itself, with the inevitable inference that the fire had been laid by the only people who could have access to Goering's entrance to that tunnel, the Nazis. But their greatest difficulty was Dimitrov. He had not known the German language very well; he had known nothing of German law or procedure; and he had spent some five months *in fetters* whilst waiting trial. In that time, in spite of every handicap, he improved his German, and mastered the elaborate Criminal Procedure Code; and he came into court equipped with that knowledge, and with his own superb courage and political sense.

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(Cartoon of Dimitrov's trial by John Hearfield)

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He seized the initiative from the start, and never lost it. He not merely proclaimed the innocence of himself and his compatriots, Popov and Tanev, who were charged with him; he went further, denounced the Nazis as the real criminals, defended the working class and the Communist Party and virtually turned the case into a trial of the Nazis. And then, when the prosecution tried to swing the case round again by calling Goering to prove that the tunnel could not have been used by the Nazis, Dimitrov dealt the mightiest blow of all. He cross-examinated that swaggering bully, the idol of the Nazis and the second most important Nazi personality, into a state of gibbering rage, completely destroyed his evidence, and—in the words of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of the most important newspapers in Europe—rendered the whole trial useless at one blow. One, but only one, result of this was that Dimitrov and his compatriots had to be acquitted by the Court.

Thus did Dimitrov inflict upon Nazism, in the early stages of its horrible life, a blow which should have been fatal, and would have been fatal, if the reactionary elements of the West such as Chamberlain and his running-dog Lord Dunglass—alias the Earl of Home alias Sir Alec Douglas Home—had not given them invaluable support. But the acquittal of Dimitrov was not the end of the story; for acquittal did not, in a Nazi state, lead automatically to release. The Nazis plotted either to murder him 'while attempting to escape' or to keep him indefinitely in a concentration camp, or to hand him over to the Fascist rulers of Bulgaria, who would no doubt execute him. There followed a long battle behind the scenes between Goering, Himmler and one or two other Nazi gangsters on the one side, who wanted to kill him, and other Nazis, with more regard for public opinion, on the other. The latter won by the skin of their teeth, and Dimitrov was released, to continue his invaluable work for the working class for another fifteen years, during three of which he was guiding as Minister-President, the early growth of the People's Democracy of his own dearly-loved Bulgaria.

The atmosphere of public opinion which made it impossible for the Nazis to kill Dimitrov had been built up partly by the Counter-trial held in London in September 1933, just before the trial before the German Supreme Court began, and partly by Dimitrov's conduct, which I have described above, in the Leipzig trial. But the matter was really clinched by a bold and intelligent step of the government of the U.S.S.R. which conferred Soviet citizenship on Dimitrov and his two compatriots and made a stern demand on the Nazis for their release—which followed almost at once.

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ALGERIA: A YEAR OF THE BEN BELLA GOVERNMENT

Desmond Buckle

A LITTLE more than a year ago Algeria lay prostrate, bleeding and exhausted. And when Ahmed Ben Bella was invested as the country's premier in September, 1962 the immediate task confronting him and his Ministers in restoring some semblance of order and normal life to a people that had suffered much, was immense.

After seven and a half years of the most brutal war ever fought on African soil, in the course of which the Algerian people sacrificed more than one million of their best sons, Algeria endured for three and a half more months between the signing of the Evian Agreement in March, 1962, and the declaration of independence in July the same year, the most murderous period of O.A.S. terrorist activity. For two of those months the F.L.N. (Front de libération nationale) which had won a great victory for the Algerians was in the throes of a serious political crisis and civil war threatened.

From the day of the declaration of independence a flood of refugees and displaced persons filled the country. The two million Algerians who had been forced out of their localities and 'regrouped' by the French army during the war of liberation left their new villages to return to their more familiar *douars,* while the several hundred thousands who had fled into Tunisia and Morocco recrossed the frontier into the country they could now call their own. The widows, orphans and war wounded bore yet more poignant testimony to the cruel suffering of the Algerian people.

Even before independence the Europeans had begun to leave the country and the closing factories filled the towns with unemployed. Of the one and a quarter million French Algerians more than half a million left the country immediately on the declaration of independence. Many were fearful of possible Moslem vengeance for the crimes of the O.A.S. during the last days of French rule. Many also left as a result of intimidation by the O.A.S. whose policy of sabotage included the driving away of as many Europeans as possible to cripple the Algerian economy. There has been a steady outflow since that time and it is estimated that by the end of 1963 there will be fewer than 70,000 Europeans left in Algeria.

From the ranks of the 'pieds noirs' (as the French Algerians are called) came the managerial class running farms and factories, tech-

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nicians on the railways, leading personnel in the electricity, gas, postal service and other public utilities. They provided most of Algeria's doctors as well as the shop owning class and the artisans. Their departure from the country paralysed its economy to such an extent that industrial and commercial activity in the summer of this year was only thirty per cent of what it was two years previously when Algeria was still at war. Quite a considerable section of the 'pieds noirs' were ordinary workers and they were just as exploited by the rich colons as were the Moslem Algerians. Most of them and others like them scattered throughout the country did not feel themselves to be in any physical danger, but the O.A.S. insisted otherwise and ordered them to leave. Indeed, there have been remarkably few acts of Moslem reprisals for O.A.S. atrocities.

Not only was the economy in a state of collapse, there were even no funds with which to finance the administration when Ben Bella assumed power. There was a monthly deficit of something like £11 million; the state-owned railways, postal services and other public services were all running at a loss. And while gas and electricity were being maintained, meters had not been read for a year in some cases and no bills had been sent to customers. The salaries of civil servants were several months in arrears and though half of the fifty millon dollar oil royalties was supposed to be for the army, they were no better off. The O.A.S. organised an effective non-payment of taxes campaign and systematically destroyed as much of the country's social security records as they could lay hands on. With so many war widows, orphans and unemployed to say nothing of the war incapacitated to be cared for, the Government faced what appeared to be an insuperable task. Questionnaires were compiled and sent out all over the country. Municipal authorities, the police and the press were appealed to for help. Slowly and laboriously the indexes were built up again. Staffs necessary for the social security pay offices had to come from the Algerians themselves, who had to do jobs previously done almost entirely by Europeans. A very large number of staffs thus recruited were young people many of whom were barely adult. The Government had little choice in the matter for of the Algerian population of nearly eleven million, no less than seventy per cent are under the age of twenty five years.

If in reorganising the social security service the Government had to bow to the pressure of circumstances and 'Algerianise' the service, it was under even greater pressure from the people to implement the Tripoli programme which had been adopted by the National Council

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of the Algerian Revolution shortly before independence. This programme provided for agrarian reform, proposed industrialisation, control over foreign capital, state ownership of mines, quarries and cement works and envisaged nationalisation of insurance companies and banks. In his speech of investiture Ben Bella outlined a long term programme, the fundamental objective of which was 'a socialist economy which would lift the country out of its under-developed state'. He promised that in the coming year the first quota of available land would be redistributed in accordance with the Tripoli decision. He announced that the Government would shortly begin to run those farms 'declared vacant' as the owners had left for France. But before the Government could act, management committees were already being formed by the peasants. After independence the peasants occupied abandoned land in some cases burned the crops for fear the Moslem rentiers might inherit them and replace the colons as the new privileged class. The decrees adopted by the Ben Bella Government on March 18, 1963, legalised many of the take-over acts already undertaken by the management committees and at the same time gave a further impetus to agrarian reform. These decrees, which dealt with the 'Regulation of Unclaimed Property' and the 'Establishment of a National Office of Agrarian Reform', came as an appropriate and sharp retort to the French imperialists who chose March 18, the anniversary of the signing of the Evian Agreement, to carry out an atomic test in the Algerian Sahara, a crude reminder to the Algerians of the fetters which still bound them to France. Ben Bella was to say later that he would step up the pace of socialist construction every time the French exploded a nuclear device.

Ben Bella has always supported the peasantry in their actions in taking over vacant properties. The Tripoli programme recognised that 'the Algerian peasantry has been the active base of the war of liberation in which it carried the heaviest burden' and Ben Bella commented on his assumption of power that 'this peasantry intends that the revolution should bring to it, at the same time as independence, a perfectly legitimate well-being'. On the morrow of independence the property of 9,000 European farmers who had decided to carry on in Algeria still covered some two and a quarter million acres for 9,000 cultivations. Today there is no longer an acre of cultivable land in Algeria which is the property of a Frenchman. To his French critics—and some Algerian too—who complain that the pace of agrarian reform is too fast Ben Bella points out that the principle of agrarian reform in Algeria was accepted even by the

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French imperialists at Evian. It was agreed that 2·7 million hectares (out of a total of seven million) of the best agricultural land which were in the hands of the colons were to be redistributed.

Nevertheless, President Ben Bella insists that the Evian Agreement is out of date and will have to be revised. Last month he said the French Government realised the accords were no longer valid because there were no longer 500,000 French in Algeria but only 100,000. For all Algerians, then, the call to revise the Evian Agreement means a demand to break the bonds which still prevent the realisation of full sovereignty.

'I am not saying that what we are doing pleases everybody, but the common people and the immense majority of Algerians are in agreement with what we are doing', says Ben Bella. Certainly, most of the measures he and his Government have carried out so far have their inspiration from another of his sayings—'We must let the masses choose for themselves'. Hence the immense popularity that he personally enjoys throughout Algeria. Even in the Kabylie Mountains region where the fewest voters were recorded in the presidential election, his erstwhile comrade and friend, Hocine Ait Ahmed, failed miserably in his efforts to raise the banner of revolt with his Front of Socialist Forces.

It is generally agreed that the nationalised farms are being well run by the peasants, but the Government has not met with the same degree of success in the industrial enterprises taken over, either, by the Government itself or by the workers. There have been a number of drawbacks and failures in this sector. There have been problems of honouring debts incurred in colonial times, of disorganisation of the internal market, so that some factories cannot easily dispose of their products. The Tripoli programme declared that, 'it will be necessary to allow a private sector to exist' for a time, and during this limited period the import of foreign private capital is desirable on certain conditions. It is intended that such capital should function only in mixed enterprises and that the transfer of profits must be strictly regulated. Moreover, a certain proportion of the profits must be re-invested in the enterprise. In carrying out faithfully the Tripoli programme the Government plans to develop light industry. A number of factories will soon be established in the Algiers area.

To President Ahmed Ben Bella and his colleagues such as Colonel Houari Boumedienne and M. Mohammedi Säid belong the credit of having been sufficiently vigilant in the difficult days and weeks of the spring of 1962, when other F.L.N. leaders were preparing to halt

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the revolution and to liquidate it. They recognised the fact that the tasks of the revolution were by no means completed, and that in consolidating and extending the independence won at such a great sacrifice, it was necessary to preserve not only the image of the F.L.N. but also to maintain its revolutionary momentum.

Ben Bella pointed out that if the F.L.N. had been allowed to dissolve itself when hostilities ceased, in the objective conditions of Algeria there would have emerged a plurality of bourgeois parties with rival policies, with each party liable to become a bridgehead for neo-colonialism.

In the circumstances the ban on the Algerian Communist Party in November, 1962, must be seen as a tactical political measure taken in the interests of the country as a whole and not simply as a blow against Communism. Indeed, when President Ben Bella received the editors-in-chief of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* in September, 1963, he stressed the role of the F.L.N. as the leader and organiser of the construction of socialism in Algeria and added:

> The construction of socialism is incompatible with anti-communism. Anti-communism will find no place on Algerian soil.

Algeria's Communists, who in alliance with the F.L.N. inspired the courageous struggle of the Algerian people, are not hounded and persecuted, despite the ban on the separate existence of the Communist Party. Many leading Communists are in fact today active in the F.L.N., state organisations and at all levels of the committees of management, and are widely respected for their contribution towards the country's regeneration. Above all, Algeria's Communists are for the interests of the nation.

Under the leadership of the Ben Bella Government and the F.L.N., the Algerian people are tackling the problems of peace with the same dauntless courage and unity of purpose that characterised their heroic fight for national liberation. Algeria has taken a non-capitalist road to social and economic regeneration and in committees of management, workers and peasants gain experience of democratic procedures. In the past year the Algerians have not only achieved considerable successes in rehabilitating their war-ravaged country; they have richly fulfilled their role as 'Arabo-Islamic Maghrebian and African peoples'.

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TEHERAN AND GERMANY

TWENTY years ago, in December 1943, the historic Teheran Conference of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, represented by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, reached the completion of its work with united agreement. The military conversations at Teheran provided for the opening of the Second Front in the West in May 1944 (in fact, D-day actually took place on June 6, 1944). The political agreements reached, provided for co-operation of the three powers in Europe after the war.

From the Minutes of the Teheran Conference published in the Soviet Union (*International Affairs*, July/August 1961) we print the following extracts of the discussion on the question of the future of Germany as of current interest:

'STALIN: What other questions are there for discussion?

ROOSEVELT: The question of Germany.

STALIN: What other questions are there for discussion?

ROOSEVELT: The partition of Germany.

CHURCHILL: I am for partitioning Germany. But I should like to consider the question of partitioning Prussia. I am for separating Bavaria and the other provinces from Germany.

ROOSEVELT: In order to stimulate our discussion on this question, I want to set forth a plan for partitioning Germany into five states, which I personally drew up two months ago.

CHURCHILL: I should like to stress that the root of evil in Germany is Prussia.

ROOSEVELT: I should like us to have a picture of the whole before we speak of the separate components. In my opinion, Prussia must be weakened as far as possible, and reduced in size. Prussia should constitute the first independent part of Germany. The second part of Germany should include Hanover and the northwestern regions of Germany. The third part—Saxony and the Leipzig area. The fourth part—Hessen Province, Darmstadt, Kassel and the areas to the south of the Rhine, and also the old towns of Westphalia. The fifth part—Bavaria, Baden, Wurttemberg. Each of these five parts would be an independent state. In addition, the regions of the Kiel Canal and Hamburg should be separated from Germany. These regions would be administered by the United Nations, or the four Powers. The Ruhr and the Saar must be placed either under the control of the United Nations or under the trusteeship of the whole of Europe. That is my proposal. I must add that it is merely exploratory.

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CHURCHILL: You have said a mouthful. I think there are two questions: one—destructive, the other—constructive. I have two ideas: the first is to isolate Prussia from the rest of Germany; the second is to separate Germany's southern provinces—Bavaria, Baden, Wurttemberg, the Palatinate, from the Saar to Saxony inclusive. I would keep Prussia in strict conditions. I think it would be easy to sever the southern provinces from Prussia and include them in a Danubian federation. The people who live in the Danube basin are not the cause of the war. At any rate, I would give the Prussians harsher treatment than the other Germans. The southern Germans will not start a new war.

STALIN: I do not like the plan for new associations of states. If it is decided to partition Germany, no new associations need be set up. Whether it is five or six states, and two regions into which Roosevelt proposes to divide Germany, this plan of Roosevelt's to weaken Germany can be examined. Like us, Churchill will soon have to deal with great masses of Germans. Churchill will then see that it is not only the Prussians who are fighting in the German Army but also Germans from the other provinces of Germany. Only the Austrians, when surrendering, shout 'I'm Austrian', and our soldiers accept them. As for the Germans from Germany's other provinces they fight with equal doggedness. Regardless of how we approach the partitioning of Germany there is no need to set up some new association of Danubian states lacking vitality. Hungary and Austria must exist separately. Austria existed as a separate state until it was seized.

ROOSEVELT: I agree with Marshal Stalin, in particular, that there is no difference between Germans from the various German provinces. Fifty years ago there was a difference but now all German soldiers are alike. It is true that this does not apply to the Prussian officers.

CHURCHILL: I should not like to be understood as not favouring the partition of Germany. But I wanted to say that if Germany is broken up into several parts without these parts being combined, then as Marshal Stalin said, the time will come when the Germans will unite.

STALIN: There are no steps that could exclude the possibility of Germany's unification.

CHURCHILL: Does Marshal Stalin prefer a divided Europe?

STALIN: Europe has nothing to do with it. I don't know that

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there is need to set up four, five or six independent German states. This question must be discussed.'

The 'Declaration of the Three Powers at Teheran' read:

> WE, the President of the U.S.A., the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met these four days past in this capital of our Ally, Iran, and have shaped and confirmed our common policy. We expressed our determination that our nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow. As to war, our Military Staffs have joined in our round table discussions and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south. The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours.
>
> And as to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognise fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations. With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the co-operation and the active participation of all nations, large and small, whose people in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into a world-family of democratic nations. . . . We look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences. We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose. (*Signed:* Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill.)

POSTSCIPT: No doubt inspired by the Teheran Agreement and later the Crimean Conference, in April 1945, Quintin Hogg, M.P. (lately Lord Hailsham) wrote in *Labour Monthly*: 'There will assuredly be another war if the present partnership between the three Great Powers is permitted to dissolve. To maintain this partnership neither pious aspirations nor ordinary diplomatic usage can suffice. There must be regular and frequent consultations both between the Foreign Secretaries and between Prime Minister, President and Marshal. . . .

There will assuredly be another war if either Germany or Japan is permitted to re-emerge as a great power. This, as the Foreign Secretary said last autumn, is the "key" of our foreign policy. This object cannot be obtained at one blow by a satisfactory peace treaty. It is very largely technical and involves continued co-operation for many years and consultation by the experts of the several Governments. Our special contribution will be to keep in harmony the realism of Russia and the idealism of the U.S.A.'

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PROUST, JOYCE AND KAFKA

V. Suchkov*

THE modern novel has become the arena of open struggle between heterogeneous trends stemming from dissimilar sources. The great tradition uniting the socialist and critical realists, Gorky, Sholokhov, Rolland, Thomas, Mann, Hemingway, Galsworthy, Wells and Heinrich Mann—the novelists responsible for the epos of our times—is now countered by the tradition stemming from such prominent writers of the twentieth century as Proust, Joyce and Kafka. A number of West European and American writers and critics proclaim this tradition to be the only creative and fruitful one harmonising with the spirit of our century and most fully reflecting its essence. The poetics of Proust, Joyce and Kafka are held up by some as a model to be followed by the artist of socialist realism. They claim that real innovation was feasible only on the path of this tradition, and so we shall do well to explain why this heritage is alien to the aesthetics of socialist realism.

The world of Proust and his heroes has been compressed to the proportions of a drawing-room humming with sophisticated talk, the mundane chatter of the habitués of the Parisian salons at the end of the last century and first decades of the present century. Though a murmur of life did penetrate these heavy draperies sometimes, those poor sounds had little vitality. The life of the French bourgeoisie and aristocracy, their limited interests, the intrigues, the immoral distractions of the highly refined dandies of his times, constituted the material from which Proust wove the complex texture of his voluminous novel. Though he perceived and described some features of the upper strata in an ironic light, he none-the-less regarded their lives as the only ones truly worthy and valuable. He even idealised such a life in his image of Robert de Saint Louis, the French brass, the myrmidon of order, thereby paying tribute to nationalism, as well. Proust was flesh and blood of the society he described, and shared all its prejudices. This sociological aspect of his works, which should never be forgotten or ignored, is simply by-passed by his modern apologists.

As an artist Proust destroyed the basic principles of realistic art, though his novel was crowded with externally common details of

*The recent European Writers' symposium in Leningrad provoked such wide interest amongst the readers of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, that V. Suchkov, their critic responded to requests from readers for his opinion of Proust, Joyce and Kafka by writing this article, which, through lack of space, we can only print in an abridged version.

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daily life. With the philosophers Bergson and William James, Proust, working in his own way in the sphere of art, strove, as he thought, for a withdrawal from the rational cognition of the world, but actually from cognition as a whole, turning the intuitive feelings of man, the uncontrolled stream of his consciousness, and the arbitrary associations stemming from his soul into the only media of perceiving the surrounding world. He regarded inner experience of the individual as a value in itself; the realia of true life lost their reality in his lines; came to be unsteady, vague and indefinite. The characters of his heroes came to be elusive and deceptive, not because they changed in the course of their development, but because they were constantly transformed in the inner perception of the narrator, depending on his frame of mind and physical condition for the instant. Through the recollections and unbroken stream of thoughts of his hero Marcel, a frail, sickly person, Proust meant to convey the dynamism of life, its constantly changing nature. The same was pursued by the poetics of his novel, by his syntax—the stratified and complex Proustian phrase with its abundance of definitions, interjected and explanatory clauses. His attempt to convey the fulness of life through his hero's chain of thoughts was not successful, however. His novel in fact turned into a detailed psychological analysis of the people belonging to the narrow circle of the French bourgeoisie and aristocracy on the eve of the first world war. All the artistic media of his novel were subordinated to this essentially local aim stripping his 'Remembrance of Things Past' and particularly 'Le Temps Retrouvé' of universal human content and binding him firmly to a specific historic epoch. The emasculate, hot-house art of Proust can find no continuation in critical realism, let alone in socialist realism playing an active part in changing the world, for his prose is too short-winded for that.

If Proust did not destroy the world's materiality in the novel, Joyce did so with gusto and perseverance. Speaking of Joyce, however, one must differentiate between the Joyce of 'Dubliners' and 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man' and the Joyce of 'Ulysses' and 'Finnegans Wake'. He wasted his great and original talent on laborious works whose formal peculiarities and conceptions of man have turned them into a bible of modern decadence. From his tales of the modest plain people of Dublin, tales so clear and full of sadness, and his conscientiously perceived and detailed pictures of the limited and stifling lives of an Irish bourgeois family in 'The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man' he slipped into a world of his

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own visions in 'Ulysses', into visions retreating from and indeed distorting reality. The domestic quarrel of the bourgeois intelligentsia with its bourgeois mainspring and environment, a quarrel which is not allowed to culminate in a break, however, and is reflected in the novel by the juxtaposition of the high-brow intellectual poet Stephen Dedalus and the low and vulgar Philistine Mr. Bloom, is endowed with the aureole of timelessness and universality by the author who presents it as the central conflict of our epoch. The real and essential contradictions of life never entered his range of vision. He hated Mr. Bloom, so limited, shifty, sick with his own sense of inadequacy, and painstakingly described his unsavoury nature in all its ghastly details. Hypertrophied by the author this character turned into the symbol of a great part of humanity if not the whole of mankind. Meaning to extol the spiritual wealth of Stephen Dedalus, he burdened his hero's soul with dead bookish knowledge, cold aestheticism and nihilism. Joyce did not manage to hide the close fraternal kinship between his pretended protagonists, Bloom and Dedalus. Attempting to combat Bloom, Joyce was eventually beaten by him. He finished with 'Finnegans Wake,' an esoteric work comprehensible only to the initiated, written in an intricate language concocted of all the tongues Joyce knew, and abstruse to the extreme. The formal aspects of Joyce's prose are unrestrained and often indecipherable symbolism, endless inner monologues—direct or indirect—conveying his heroes' chain of thoughts, all confirming Joyce's main and most cherished idea of the baseness of human nature and man's inability to master his destiny.

Joyce has exerted telling and pernicious influence on a series of West European and American writers (particularly through the agency of his exponent Gertrude Stein). His aesthetics are alien to realism and offer a classical example of formalism's invasion of art. I. G. Ehrenburg said that Joyce was 'the writers' writer', comparing his works with essence 'not to be drunk unadulterated, but mixed with water'. From I. G. Ehrenburg's metaphor, it would seem that the essence of Joycism can be used to flavour any literary meal, or that the Joycian traditions are allowable in our art. One cannot agree with this. Nothing could be more alien to socialists: they feel he assumed the role of their ideological and aesthetic opponent.

It is difficult, too, to agree with I. G. Ehrenburg's appraisal of Kafka, as a prophet who foresaw the 'fearful world of fascism'. This fairly common view is based on the hazy allegory of his works, but is borne out neither by the facts of history nor the contents of

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his writing. His destiny was a strange one. He died forty years ago, wrote three unfinished novels and some scores of short stories and fables unknown when he was alive, though noticed by the major figures of German literature in those years. In our times, however, the foreign critics regard him as the leading figure of the *modern* literary process. To what does Kafka owe his posthumous fame? Not to the formal peculiarities of his works, for he is a traditionalist writer in style. The reason is to be found in his fear of life, in his perception of its crisis dominating his works and constituting a shade in the social mood of the foreign intellectuals.

Kafka was a man who dreaded life in the world of private ownership and was able to convey his fears to his readers very well. He was sincerely convinced and fervently conveyed his conviction that man was not the crowning glory of creation, but a poor knot of quivering protoplasm, a creature helplessly raising its hands to the heavens begging unknown forces for forgiveness for unknown and uncommitted sins. Crippling fear, helplessness, terror of an unknown menace with which life itself was fraught, dominated Kafka's works describing the horrors preying on his mind in prosaic detail. But the evil Kafka saw around him was a nameless, faceless evil. It loomed before him sometimes as a bureaucratic official machine, sometimes as an abstract law, or assumed shape, like that of the torture device in his story 'In a Punitive Colony'. It is this story, written in 1914 and published in 1919, which is usually cited to prove Kafka's alleged antifascism. Nowhere and never did he define the social nature of evil, however, for he regarded it as an eternal, invincible feature of life itself. Kafka's passivity to social evil, his vision of man as an abulic toy of fate turned him into the sort of writer who was far from the ethics and ideals of socialist realism. It is precisely his indifference to the real sources of social conflicts in the twentieth century and his substitution of a phantasmageric world for reality that have turned Kafka into the signal bearer of the art rereating from reality'.

Departure from reality robs art of more than authenticity. The description of the vital and historic truths, comprehensible and perceptible on the basis of the communist world outlook is law for our art of socialist realism. Faithfulness to the truth spells faithfulness to reality. If the novel is threatened now, it is not by the exhausted possibilities of the genre, but by the invasion of fiction leading the artist away from reality, away from the truths of history.

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A WORLD AWAY

THIS spring again there will be a World Fair in New York. I often visited the last held there, in 1939. What a world away! I have vivid recollections of three of the nations' pavilions. Czechoslovakia's was left unfinished when Hitler marched in after Munich, as our present Prime Minister stood by, with his predecessor Neville Chamberlain. There it was, a mute but eloquent protest against fascism and the friends of fascism. Near by was Britain's: elegant, in the best taste, containing nothing but highest quality exhibits of superlative craftsmanship. Yet from it no one could picture anyone living here who did not wear gowns suitable for the Court of St. James, or riding boots, and inhabit distinguished country houses. And there was the Soviet Pavilion, always crowded to the doors. I used to stand outside and watch them troop in. On the porch there was a vast combine harvester; by its side a tiny wooden hand plough of the most primitive kind. I saw a first generation American family, the father an emigrant from Tzarist Russia, stand there in amazed silence. Slowly the old man was drawn to the plough. He stretched out his arms and gripped the worn handles. 'Yes', he said. 'So it was. *That* was how it was'. When I saw his face as he leaned on the plough and slowly looked up at the combine harvester, I had to turn away. What a world away from Tzarist Russia—and what a world away today from the combine harvester in that Old World Fair. Last month we published stills from the documentary *The Russian Miracle*. In that film you can see Gagarin setting out on man's first journey to the stars—and where that journey started from. For there are shots of the hand plough in use and Tzarist peasants in a famine winter feeding the thatch off their roof to their only animal.

With what breath-taking speed the world is changing and moving into socialism. Africa and South-East Asia, where the notion of patient submission to foreign overlords is already as far in the past to the peoples as the hand plough is to us. Latin America and the Middle East, where the oil monopolies have been trying to fix new terms with local royalty owners who threaten nationalisation under pressure of their peoples. A reader said of the contortions of imperialists trying to cope with their insoluble problems: 'Sometimes they remind me of Uncle Remus' story of how Brer Rabbit got bogged down in his fight with the Tar Baby. Wham! there's his right paw stuck. "Turn me loose or I'll knock the living day-

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lights out of you!" Biff! there goes his left. His next solution was to start kicking and butting'. For the imperialists there are no solutions without problems. For us who have the future on our side there are no problems without solutions, only—how fast can we find them? The nearer to the maw of the beast the more complex the problems; but socialism has come in our time, and nothing is impossible. Journals like *LM* always have played a vitally important part in changing people's thinking. We suggest to those who sometimes feel Socialism is a long time coming here, what have *you* overlooked? Turn to the contents page and the Index for the year. Look at these articles and consider how to plan to put this magazine into new hands.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

Below you will find a brief report from **Helen Falber** who has undertaken special responsibility for the Fund.

There is no more heart-warming job than dealing with the fund letters of our readers. These are the very life-blood of *Labour Monthly*. Take this example from a long-standing supporter: 'Glad to say I've a new reader for *LM*. Our local lit. sec. takes my old copies to "plant" where the seed is likely to grow. He wants to start a collection for *LM* each month', or this letter from a new subscriber: 'I am holding a Workers' Educational Association class on "Current Affairs" and a friend recommended *LM* as a journal that would help in preparing the lectures'.

To all of you who make our work possible, our warmest thanks.

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